

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 JAKART 04893 01 OF 02 180609Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----180619Z 118502 /20

R 180515Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 497
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 4893

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ID
SUBJECT: INDONESIAN AND U.S. VIEWS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

1. SUMMARY: FRANK EXCHANGE BETWEEN INDONESIAN ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PANGGABEAN AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE DEMONSTRATED SOME DEGREE OF DIFFERENCE IN ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT THREAT TO INDONESIA. PRIMARY INDONESIAN WORRIES CENTER ON THAILAND AND MALAYSIA. INTERNALLY EXTREMES OF COMUNISM AND MILITANT ISLAM STILL POSE SUBVERSIVE PROBLEMS. ASSISTANT SECRETARY EXPLAINED PHILOSOPHY OF NEW ADMINISTRATION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, PLACING STRESS ON NEED FOR SATISFACTORY DOMESTIC U.S. CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT AND IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN ABSENCE FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK, MINISTER DEFENCE PANGGABEAN, IN HIS CAPACITY AS ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 JAKART 04893 01 OF 02 180609Z

RECEIVED ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE APRIL 14. HOLBROOKE OPENED BY EXPRESSING APPRECIATION TO PANGGABEAN FOR COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE OF INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT IN FACILITATING VISIT BY CODEL WOLFF AND IN PARTICULAR FOR PERMITTING CODEL MEMBERS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR.

3. PANGGABEAN, IN REPLY, SAID THAT CODEL WOLFF WAS WELCOMED IN TIMOR AS FRIEND OF INDONESIA. MINISTER EXPRESSED HOPE THAT VISIT TO TIMOR BY CODEL WOULD SETTLE QUESTION AND NOT CREAT NEW ISSUES. AS FAR AS INDONESIA IS CONCERNED, EAST TIMOR IS INTEGRAL PART OF COUNTRY AND NOT SUBJECT FOR FOREIGN INVESTIGATION. NEXT SESSION OF UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY MAY SEEK TO REOPEN TIMOR ISSUE AND THERE MAY EVEN BE PROPOSALS BY CUBA OR USSR FOR THEM TO VISIT TIMOR, CITING CODEL VISIT AS PRECEDENT. INDONESIA WILL NOT AGREE TO THIS.

4. PANGGABEAN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE BOTH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC. HE SAID IT WAS AGREED BY ASEAN COUNTRIES THAT COMMON THREAT TO AREA IS BY SUBVERSIVE COMMUNIST ACTIVITY WHICH EXISTS IN SOME FORM IN EVERY ASEAN COUNTRY. SITUATION IN INDONESIA IS MORE FAVORABLE THAN IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

5. PANGGABEAN THEN PAINTED PICTURE OF GROWING POLARIZATION OF WORLD POINTING TO INCREASED COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN EUROPE AND AMONG NON-ALIGNED. INDONESIA, HE SAID, IS OFTEN PUSHED INTO CORNER IN CONFERENCES BY ACTIVITIES OF CUBA AND OTHER MILITANT COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. HE REFERRED TO GROWING FUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN AFRICA AND TO PROMINENT POSITION OF COMMUNIST REGIMES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

6. STATING HE REALIZED INDONESIA WAS NOT AFFORDED HIGH PRIORITY BY U.S., HE NEVERTHELESS HOPED U.S. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 JAKART 04893 01 OF 02 180609Z

WOULD MAINTAIN PRESENCE IN AREA. HE WAS HAPPY THAT FRASER VICTORY IN AUSTRALIA HAD BRUNTED COMMUNIST EFFORTS THERE. REFERRING AGAIN TO U.S. ASSISTANCE, HE SAID INDONESIA AFTER 1965 MIGHT HAVE COLLAPSED IF U.S. HAD NOT PROVIDED AID.

7. RE THAILAND, HE REFERRED TO HIS PLANS TO VISIT BANGKOK AND HIS HOPE THAT INDONESIA COULD INFLUENCE THAIS TO GREATER RECOGNITION OF IMPORTANCE OF THAI ARMY AND OF KING. HE IS AFRAID THAILAND MAY MAKE SOME MISTAKES OF SOUTH VIETNAM. MALAYSIA IS ALSO WEAK AND HE HOPES INDONESIA CAN INCREASE MILITARY COOPERATION WITH MALAYSIA THROUGH MORE FREQUENT JOINT EXERCISES.

8. SAYING UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT AGAIN BE "TOO LATE", HE SAID U.S. SHOULD CONTINUE TO HELP INDONESIA STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSES. INDONESIA FACES THREAT OF ALL TYPES OF SUBVERSIAN. HE MENTIONED POLITICAL

SUBVERSION FROM BOTH EXTREME RIGHT (ISLAM) AND
EXTREME LEFT AS WELL AS THROUGH SMUGGLING AND CRIME.
HE REFERRED TO CONTINUED INSURGENCY IN NORTH KALIMANTAN
AND SARAWAK ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED NUMBER OF IN-

SURGENTS WAS VERY SMALL. HE SAID, IN MEETING
SUBVERSION, ECONOMIC HELP TO IMPROVE STANDARD OF
LIVING WAS AS IMPORTANT AS MILITARY HELP.

9. IN RESPONSE TO MINISTER'S PRESENTATION, HOLBROOKE
ASSURED PANGGABEAN THAT TALK ABOUT U.S. NEGLECTING
ASIA OR SOUTHEAST ASIA WAS NOT TRUE. HE SAID, HOWEVER,
IT WAS IMPORTANT IN UNDERSTANDING CURRENT U.S. POLICIES
TO UNDERSTAND PRESIDENT CARTER'S STRONG FEELING THAT
NEW DOMESTIC CONFIDENCE MUST BE BUILT UP IN EXECUTIVE
AND IN EXECUTIVE/CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS. HOLBROOKE
CITED HIS CURRENT TRIP WITH CODEL WOLFF AS EXAMPLE OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 JAKART 04893 01 OF 02 180609Z

THIS. (PANGGABEAN AT THIS POINT INTERJECTED THAT HE
WAS HAPPY TO SEE THIS BECAUSE INDONESIA HAD BEEN
WONDERING ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL/EXECUTIVE BRANCH
RELATIONS.)

10. REFERRING TO TWIN CRISES OF WATERGATE AND
WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM, HOLBROOKE SAID PRESIDENT
CARTER'S ELECTION WAS CLEAR INDICATION AMERICANS
WANTED NEW FACE AND NEW DEPARTURE. BUILDING CONFIDENCE
AMONG AMERICAN PUBLIC WILL REQUIRE EMPHASIS ON CERTAIN
THINGS OF IMPORTANCE TO AMERICANS SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS.
RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS WILL NOW BE BETTER
ALTHOUGH AMERICA'S FRIENDS SHOULD REALIZE CONGRESS DOES
NOT TAKE ORDERS FROM EXECUTIVE EVEN IF BOTH ARE FROM
SAME PARTY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 JAKART 04893 02 OF 02 180557Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----180603Z 118399 /20

R 180515Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 498
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 4893

EXDIS

E11. HOLBROOKE SAID UMS. CONSIDERS SOVIET UNION REPRESENTS MAJOR THREAT TO WORLD PEACE BECAUSE OF ITS MILITARY POWER. USSR IS UNDOUBTEDLY TESTING WHAT U.S. WILL DO IN VARIOUS AREAS OF WORLD. BECAUSE OF THIS TESTING, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT UMS. REMAIN PACIFIC POWER.

12. TRACING HISTORY OF LAST 30 YEARS, HOLBROOKE ALLUDED TO HEAVY INVOLVEMENT OF UNITED STATES IN SEEKING TO FILL VACUUM CAUSED BY COLLAPSE OF COLONIAL REGIMES. THIS PERIOD HAS NOW ENDED, TERMINATED LARGELY BY DR. KISSINGER'S TRIP TO PEKING AND BY UMS. COLLAPSE IN INDOCHINA.

13. STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF UMS.-CHINESE RELATIONS, HOLBROOKE SAID IT IS IMPORTANT THAT SOVIETS AND CHINESE NOT AGAIN GET TOGETHER SINCE THIS WOULD INCREASE THREAT TO ALL NON-COMMUNIST NATIONS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 JAKART 04893 02 OF 02 180557Z

14. EMPHASIZING THAT INDONESIA IS MORE IMPORTANT TO U.S. THAN VIETNAM, HOLBROOKE SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT DEPARTURE OF UMS. FROM VIETNAM SHOULD CREATE CONCERN IN INDONESIA. HE FELT NATIONS IN ASIA COULD NOW STAND AND PROSPER ON THEIR OWN FEET AND THAT SECURITY THREAT TO THEM WAS NOT AS SERIOUS OR AS IMMEDIATE AS PANGGABEAN SUGGESTED. ECONOMIC GROWTH WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. IN THIS CONNECTION HE REFERRED TO WIDJOJO'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND HIS OWN DISCUSSIONS WITH SUMARLIN, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS OF GOI.

15. ON WIDER ASIAN ISSUES, HE INFORMED PANGGABEAN U.S.

WOULD OVER NEXT FOUR TO FIVE YEARS WITHDRAW GROUND TROOPS FROM KOREA WHILE KEEPING AIR COVER. AT SAME TIME, UMS. WOULD MAKE CLEAR TO SOVIETS AND OTHERS THAT ANY NORTH KOREAN EFFORT TO CHANGE POSITION ON PENINSULA WOULD BE "UNACCEPTABLE." UMS. HAS REJECTED THREE RECENT EFFORTS BY NORTH KOREA TO OPEN DIRECT TALKS WITH UMS. WITHOUT SOUTH KOREANS.

16. JAPAN IS TO NEW ADMINISTRATION AS IMPORTANT AS EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ALTHOUGH HOLBROOKE MADE CLEAR ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT INTEND TO TALK TO ASIANS THROUGH TOKYO. (PANGGABEAN AGREED HEARTILY WITH THIS POSITION, SAYING THAT ASIANS CANNOT FORGET "BITTER PAST" WHEN SPEAKING OF JAPAN.) HOLBROOKE SAID U.S. WANTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH CHINA BUT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT FUTURE STATUS OF TAIWAN.

17. HE EXPLAINED THAT UMS. WAS MOVING TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, IF MIA ISSUE COULD BE RESOLVED. THIS WAS IMPORTANT DOMESTICALLY IN UNITED STATE AND IMPORTANT IN PROVIDING VIETNAM WITH NON-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 JAKART 04893 02 OF 02 180557Z

RUSSIAN ALTERNATIVES.

18. ON VIETNAM, PANGGABEAN INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT INDONESIA UNDERSTOOD UMS. POSITION AND WAS PREPARED TO BE OF HELP IN DIALOGUE WITH VIETNAM. U.S., HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT, IN SEEKING BETTER RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM "BYPASS THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IN NON-COMMUNIST ASIA." HOLBROOKE SAID THAT UMS. WOULD NEED TO HANDLE DETAILS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH VIETNAM WHICH WOULD BEGIN IN PARIS IN MAY. INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR IN HANOI, HOWEVER, COULD HELP BY INFORMING GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM THAT U.S. IS SERIOUS IN ITS DESIRE TO CREATE BETTER RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. HOLBROOKE SAID THERE WAS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF ANY LARGE DIRECT AID TO VIETNAM. THIS IS NOW PROHIBITED BY LAW AND WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO GET SUPPORT OF AMERICAN PEOPLE.

19. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, UMS. WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH ASEAN COUNTRIES, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. U.S. IS READY TO WORK DIRECTLY WITH ASEAN IF ASEAN WISHES IT.

20. FINALLY, HOLBROOKE REFERRED TO IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN ATTEMPT BY U.S. EXECUTIVE TO GAIN PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR CLOSE RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. CLOSE RELATIONS

WILL BE DIVVICULT WITH COUNTRIES WHERE SERIOUS HUMAN
RIGHTS PROBLEMS EXIST. U.S. IS NOT SEEKING TO TELL
PEOPLE WHAT TO DO BUT PRESIDENT CARTER FEELS THAT THE
WAY ANOTHER GOVERNMENT TREATS ITS PEOPLE MUST BE
CONSIDERED IN U.S. RELATIONSHIPS WITH THAT COUNTRY.
THIS INCLUDES CONSIDERATIONS OF FREEDOM OF PRESS,
DUE PROCESS, AND GENERAL TREATMENT OF POPULATION.
HOLBROOKE SAID HE LEAVES INDONESIA WITH POSITIVE
IMPRESSION IN THIS AREA, HELPED PARTICULARLY BY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 JAKART 04893 02 OF 02 180557Z

MANNER IN WHICH INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT RECEIVED
CODEL WOLFF AND PERMITTED TRIPS TO TIMORE.
NEWSOM

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 18-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977JAKARTA04893
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770133-0753
Format: TEL
From: JAKARTA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770448/aaaabpbe.tel
Line Count: 296
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 56793aa3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2778103
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INDONESIAN AND U.S. VIEWS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, ID, US, (HOLBROOKE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/56793aa3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009